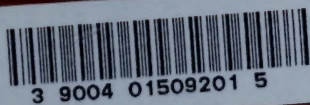


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Round Table -
Dec 1917

CANADA

I. EAST AND WEST IN CANADA

THERE has always been a disposition in Canada to apprehend differences between the West and the older Provinces. So, too, there have always been politicians willing to exploit grounds of difference for personal and political advantage. But in the West, as in the East, whenever a question has appeared which involved national unity and stability, national considerations have overcome sectional interests. Geographically and economically there are four Canadas—the Atlantic Provinces, Ontario and Quebec, the Middle West, and British Columbia. There are as divergent interests between the Prairie Provinces and British Columbia as between Ontario and the West. A common feeling on the Pacific is that the Rocky Mountains divide East and West, while perhaps the general feeling of the older Provinces is that the West begins at Winnipeg. The great unsettled stretch of country reaching from Sudbury to Fort William accentuates the division between East and West and exaggerates economic differences. But every test to which the country has been subjected since the Western territories were incorporated in the Dominion has revealed a national temper and demonstrated that the causes which unite are far more influential than the causes which divide.

The war has disclosed a national spirit as intense and dominant in the West as in older Canada. It may be that in the West "Imperialism" is less vocal and that greater

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Canada

the whole system of taxation will have to be revised. There is no prospect that taxation of incomes and of manufacturers' profits which the war has necessitated will be abandoned, and probably also such tariff duties will have to be retained as will afford any necessary protection to Canadian industries.

In Western Canada there seems to be a complete eradication of old party prejudices and loyalties. "Conservative" is a word which the West dislikes as suggesting Toryism inherited from Great Britain and expressing the temper of reaction. Through the name the Party was associated with the illiberal traditions of other ages and with events of very remote relation to the history of Canada. To "Liberal" there is no objection, but in the West the federal party which bore the name must be born again. We are at the end of an era. No power can re-establish the old idols or recreate the old divisions. The coalition is accepted as necessary to the prosecution of the war, but there is a common feeling that it is a temporary expedient, and that for the time even speculation about the future of political parties is futile, if not mischievous. It is felt that there has been something unreal in Canadian politics, that peace will disclose the realities, that in a way the disruption over conscription was an act of emancipation. Men are thinking of country, not of party, of the future, not of the past, and a multitude of enfranchised women are looking for a sign from heaven which does not appear.

Despite pre-occupation in the war the West is thinking much about its future. There are many who feel that, unless there is careful selection of immigrants, more "foreigners" will be admitted than can be assimilated. Even now the multiplication of groups and races creates grave social and educational problems. It is determined that in future no element from any country shall be granted special exemptions from military service. All who enter into the privileges of Canadian citizenship must accept all

East and West in Canada

the obligations and responsibilities which belong to Canadian citizenship. If Mennonites and Doukhobors desire to settle in Canada they must submit to all the conditions which govern English-speaking British subjects. An outcry against a colony of Mennonites who have just crossed into the West from the United States has been silenced by the assurance of the Government that they will enjoy no special exemptions or privileges. For the time absolute prohibition of immigration from Germany or Austria is demanded. It will be long, one thinks, before this prohibition will be relaxed. The war also has greatly intensified feeling against bilingual teaching in the public schools. There is no desire to interfere with French as an official language where it is constitutionally recognised, but it is insisted that all children shall have adequate knowledge of English, and that English shall be the common language of the country. There are signs that the educational authorities of the three Prairie Provinces are in sympathy with this demand, and that, as far and as fast as is practicable, every other language will be subordinated to English in the elementary schools of the West.

When Western people urge more rigid supervision of "foreign" immigration they are not thinking about Americans. The doors of the West are open to English-speaking people from the United States, or even to the descendants of foreign elements in the neighbouring country, unless they are of German or Austrian origin, who have acquired English and measurably understand the genius of free institutions. Possibly the West is more partial to Americans than to settlers of any other nationality. They have no apprehension of political danger from American immigration, and certainly during the war this confidence has been justified. But a prejudice which prevailed against classes of Englishmen has been largely if not entirely overcome. The response of the English element in the West to the call of Canada and the Empire

Canada

has been so splendid that toleration has developed into admiration and regard into reverence. If there is any exception, it is in the attitude towards a class of English Socialists who are held to be chiefly responsible for labour disturbances, who as nearly as they dare use the language of sedition, and who have been active in exciting unrest among alien workers.

It must be admitted that there has been a good deal of exasperation over the high wages received by alien workmen and their immunity from internment or military service. This feeling is particularly acute among returning soldiers, but is by no means confined to the military element. On the other hand, there is such a scarcity of labour for the fields, the mines and the industries that the general activities of the country could hardly have been maintained without this reserve of alien workers. Generally even Germans and Austrians have been tractable enough, but how far this was due to the vigilance of the Mounted Police only history will disclose. It is easy, however, to understand the general feeling against alien farmers who reap their crops and alien workers who pocket swollen wages in comfort and security, while the sons of the household give their lives to maintain the institutions by which these foreign groups are sheltered and protected. It is said that many of these aliens are hoarding their wages in expectation of returning to their own countries when peace is restored, and many in the fear that they will be ruthlessly displaced when the soldiers come back from Europe. But in all the exasperation against aliens there is a complete conflict of opinion as to how they should be treated, a general admission that this labour has been necessary and valuable, and a common doubt if forced labour could be made economically profitable. The dissatisfaction is deeper perhaps because the very difficulties of the situation have made any heroic treatment of the problem doubtful if not impossible.

Notwithstanding the considerable admixture of Ameri-

East and West in Canada

cans in the Western population, the American flag is hardly more common than in older Canada. The Union Jack flies far more freely than before the war and perhaps even more freely than in the Eastern Provinces. In every Western community the welfare of the soldiers and their dependents is the chief concern. Red Cross and patriotic organisations are as active as when the war began. One never hears any feeble cry for a premature peace, nor any vain mourning over losses and sacrifices entailed upon the country. The West is in the war with complete absorption and devotion and absolute confidence in the justice of the cause for which the armies of the Allies are contending. It observes food and fuel regulations with remarkable vigilance and fidelity. It has adjusted its social customs as the need for economy, for endurance and for sacrifice demand. A few years ago the long open drinking bar, crowded with customers, was found in every licensed hotel and restaurant. Now there is no public drinking and very little in private houses. In the clubs there are neither bars nor drinking. Nor is there any prospect that the licensed liquor traffic ever will be re-established in Western Canada. In such cities as Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon, Edmonton, Vancouver and Victoria the consequences of "the land boom" of seven or eight years ago have been largely overcome and comparative activity and prosperity prevail. This is perhaps chiefly explained by high prices for grain and shipbuilding on the Pacific. The West has few war industries, nor has it profited greatly by munition contracts. This means that reconstruction will be a less serious problem in the West than in the East if some of the incidental advantages of war have been withheld. It is true that the West is remote from the actual areas of war, that it has food in plenty, that seedtime and harvest are uninterrupted, but it has not faltered at such sacrifice and endurance as have been required, and with mourning in many households and thousands of its sons still in the field, its spirit is eager,

Canada

its courage unshaken and its resolution to go on until victory is achieved as inflexible as when the first call came from Valcartier and small companies of Englishmen from the plains and the Pacific started Eastward to join the Princess Patricias.

II. EXTERNAL RELATIONS

THIS year for the first time representatives of all the Dominions found it possible to attend the meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet, and were careful to allow no domestic obstacle to prevent their presence at its Sessions. This fact and the impressive circumstances of these meetings of the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth, round a common council table, at a time when mutual interchange of knowledge and of ideas was so critically important, gave the Cabinet the appearance of having passed its experimental stage.

Most people in this country who have the unity of the British Commonwealth at heart and have given the question study, are now apt to regard the expedient of the Imperial War Cabinet as having made a definite advance towards an ultimate solution of the Imperial problem. An organic union of the Empire, with an Imperial Parliament and executive at the apex of a constitutional pyramid, is commonly thought by those in Canada who are interested in the subject to be either an unattainable ideal or the antecedent of a dangerous policy of "centralization," and it seems patent that no plan has as yet been advanced that is competent to satisfy fully the national aspirations of the Dominions on the one hand and the requirements of real Imperial solidarity on the other. The institution of the Imperial War Cabinet, however, as a purely opportunist measure based on no particular theory, meets with general favour as having all the easy-going British characteristics of "a step in the right^{er} direction."

External Relations

The Canadian public has shown no particular enthusiasm for the War Cabinet, for the reason that in Canada there is little popular interest in the constitutional problems of the Empire, nor, until the commencement of the war, in external problems of any description. We have been—perhaps inevitably—concerned to a great extent with our domestic questions; and, in the position of comfortable security which we occupy under the British flag, we have allowed ourselves to become generally neglectful of our external responsibilities. It is unwise of course to labour this point, for the war is fast broadening our horizon; but it is well to remember that the recovery from our early provincialism will be very gradual, and will be marked by occasional relapses, an example of which can be found in the popular attitude to the Imperial War Cabinet meetings last summer. So completely was the importance of the Cabinet overlooked that the absence in England for two or three months of the Prime Minister and several of his colleagues was regarded by a certain section of the Press as a needless neglect of domestic duties.

This feeling was, of course, considerably intensified by the presence in Canada during that period of a certain amount of industrial and political unrest. But this midsummer restlessness itself was attributed partly to the fact that the Leadership of the country was temporarily absent; and whether or not this was true, the tendency to confuse the mission of the Canadian Ministers in London last summer with ante-bellum ceremonial visits was both unfortunate and significant, and shows the failure to realise that Canada as a nation must concern herself in matters of world policy.

Those organs of opinion which have discussed the status of the Imperial War Cabinet seriously for the most part hold the view that it provides the means for a useful interchange of ideas during the period of the war, but that it is not likely to acquire a permanent value. Others allege that the Cabinet is only a pretence, in that

Canada

Dominion Ministers were invited to consider matters of policy, the actual control of which is vested in the Cabinet of the United Kingdom, in which they are of course not represented. (Such critics derive comfort from the fact that in no glossary of constitutional terms is the word "cabinet" defined as applicable to such an anomalous body). Those who hold this view overlook the fact that the presence of Dominion Ministers in the Imperial Cabinet has the double advantage of giving the Dominions first-hand information as well as the opportunity of expressing opinion on all matters which concern the Empire as a whole. The Dominions, it is true, in the last analysis do not share in the direction of the foreign policy of the British Commonwealth, but the machinery of the Imperial Cabinet does at least afford them the opportunity of making themselves heard in the highest council of the Empire, and this not as a favour but as a right.

A certain school of opinion in this country, also disturbed by the dictionary definition of "cabinet," is suspicious of the word as applied to an Imperial Council of which Ministers from the Dominions are members, and sees in the application of this term a conspiracy to set up a powerful executive authority in the Empire. It is interesting in this connection to note that in a recent number of *THE ROUND TABLE* it was suggested that the Imperial War Cabinet was sufficiently loose in its organisation and elastic in its structure even to serve as the model for a representative body for a group of independent world states.

A certain amount of attention was paid in Canada to the recent announcement that each Dominion was to be permitted to maintain a resident Minister in London for attendance at the Imperial War Cabinet. The interest which this aroused here was rather less than would have been the case were there not at present a Canadian Minister with headquarters in Great Britain, in the person of the Minister of Overseas Military Forces. It happens

External Relations

inevitably, however, that a Minister with such heavy departmental responsibilities must concern himself primarily, if not exclusively, with administrative work, and at present Canada is not, therefore, able to take full advantage of the arrangement. It is clear that the eventual appointment of a Canadian Minister to provide a *liaison* between the Imperial and Canadian Cabinets, and with membership in both, would supply an important link between them—a connection which a High Commissioner's Office is not competent to provide.

The dispatch from London announcing that direct communication on matters of Cabinet importance is now permitted between the Prime Ministers of the Dominions and the Prime Minister of Great Britain was in a measure misunderstood. Certain journals jumped to the conclusion that this announcement involved the elimination of the Colonial Office, in so far as the Dominions were concerned, and one or two newspapers went so far as to predict the extinction of the office of Governor-General. The reform, however, does remove a colonial anachronism. The Governor-General, far from being eliminated by this measure, is placed in a more dignified position, occupying now a status more nearly a counterpart to that of the King, and tends to be less a mere channel of communication between the Colonial Office and the Canadian Government and an official of the former body.

The solution of the Imperial question, like all other political problems in a democracy, will doubtless come with greater *popular* knowledge of the facts. Good minds are working on the problem, but with few exceptions the subject still fails to awaken genuine interest except in the convinced Imperialists on the one hand, and in those—happily few in number—who are equally settled upon a separatist policy. The average citizen has paid too little attention to the question of external relations to see in the phrase "Imperial Problem" anything but a deliberate attempt to "force an issue."

Canada

Canada during the last four years has been brought into touch with the outside world with dramatic suddenness, and she has moved in closer co-operation with her sister Dominions and with foreign nations than ever before. But in one sense the effect of our participation in a world war, side by side with Englishmen and Scotsmen and men from the other Dominions, has perhaps not been quite what was expected. Our loyalty to the British Commonwealth is unabated, but our Canadianism is considerably stronger. The foundation of a real national consciousness has in fact been laid. It must be remembered that in the rather strident nationalism which the war has stimulated in Canada, and which will be augmented and intensified with the return of our Army, there is a most wholesome symptom. Danger lies only in the spirit of easy-going contentment with a status which will never satisfy the healthy aspirations of a young country. When this is popularly felt in Canada we shall have come to the point of admitting the existence of an Imperial Problem. Once this is recognised by the "man in the street" there should be no difficulty in moving towards its solution, a solution which must give the fullest scope to our national aspirations, consistent with membership in the British Commonwealth.

In this connection, the approaching Canadian Expedition to Siberia is of the greatest importance. A force of five thousand men, all Canadians, except one Imperial battalion, is to be sent to Vladivostok in the next few weeks, under the command of a Canadian General and staff, to act in co-operation with Japanese and American forces. Quite apart from the military significance of the expedition its reflection on Canadian opinion is bound to be very striking. By this means we shall be brought into direct touch with what to us is a practically unknown country, although in a sense it is our next door neighbour. The popular interest and economic enterprise which the expedition will stimulate in the country will have an

Lord Shaughnessy's Resignation

important educational effect on popular opinion. It should give a reality to our external affairs, including our relation to the Empire; such contact with the outer world will widen our knowledge of politics in the big sense and should help to facilitate the solution of the problems which arise therefrom.

III. LORD SHAUGHNESSY'S RESIGNATION

THE resignation of Lord Shaughnessy closes a long and great chapter in the history of the Canadian Pacific Railway. In certain vital characteristics he was the antithesis of Sir William Van Horne. His predecessor had immense driving power and the outlook of a statesman. In building the railway, planning its extensions and establishing its ocean services he displayed wonderful resource and energy. He was superior to mental or physical fatigue. He had courage which bordered on audacity. But by nature Van Horne was not conciliatory: he was impatient with communities that would not submit to his demands and often would engage in conflict when a treaty of peace and co-operation could have been effected by wise concessions. Lord Shaughnessy was faithful to all the best traditions which Lord Mountstephen and Sir William created, but he also established new traditions of great value to the railway and to Canada. He was always ready to abate grievances as far as legitimate concern for the interests of the Company would permit, and in refusing concessions he never was inconsiderate or arrogant. He believed that the Company had obligations to the country as well as to the stockholders. From the first the Canadian Pacific Railway in profession and in practice has been a national and Imperial enterprise. The fact that it was built for national and Imperial reasons has never been overlooked by its directors. If its own credit stands high, it has always strengthened the credit of Canada.

Canada

If it has become prosperous and powerful, the success has not been achieved by evading contracts or corrupting Governments. Once or twice it has appeared in national politics, but only when in the judgment of its directors national and Imperial considerations were involved. Possibly a great corporation should never interfere in elections, but sometimes at least circumstances palliate the offence. Lord Shaughnessy was always averse to interference and resolutely against attempted coercion of the Company's employees.

He did much to overcome the hostile attitude of the West towards the Company. In this he was greatly assisted by Sir George Bury and other wise and efficient subordinates. The road has always been a great immigration agency as well as a great carrier. It has spent millions in extending irrigation, improving methods of farming, and developing many industries and enterprises in the middle West and British Columbia. In most cases its undertakings were ultimately successful, to the direct advantage of particular districts and the general advantage of the country. It is not suggested that in fixing freight rates the interests of the Company were neglected, but there seldom was any reluctance to spend money in order to create traffic. Its lands have risen in value, but its chief object has been to develop and settle the country. In any future projects of settlement the chances are that it will be among the most willing of Western landlords to co-operate with the Provincial and Federal Governments. When the Government at Ottawa not long ago appropriated \$7,000,000 of the Company's surplus profits there was a natural protest, but no whining or clamour. No other institution in Canada has contributed so freely for war purposes or observed all necessary restrictions with more scrupulous fidelity. No other railway company on the continent has had better relations with its employees. Wages have always been maintained at a high level and conferences with the representatives

Lord Shaughnessy's Resignation

of the workmen have seldom been refused. The whole policy of Lord Shaughnessy has been to co-operate with workers, with shippers, and with communities.

Vitally resolute but essentially considerate, Lord Shaughnessy has held the affectionate loyalty of his immediate associates, the good will of a great body of employees, and the respect of the country. Although not born in Canada, he has been peculiarly and uncompromisingly a citizen of the Dominion and the Empire. No one thinks that there is any professional or commercial flavour in his patriotism. Although he has been the head of a great corporation on a continent in which corporations are suspected, the desire that he should enter the Government has been often expressed and widely entertained. For many years now the country has believed that Lord Shaughnessy was far more than the servant of a corporation. His counsel in national affairs has been signally influential, although he has generally spoken with reserve and has scrupulously abstained from partisan controversy. A Nationalist and an Imperialist, he has made the Canadian Pacific Railway the expression of his faith; agreeable and unostentatious, he carries much affection and respect into a retirement which, like that of Sir William Van Horne, will be far from a complete cessation of interest in the affairs of the railway or the affairs of Canada. Mr. Beatty, who succeeds to the office of President of the Company, is still a young man, born in Ontario, of remarkable executive talent, adequate energy, and interesting personality. Like Lord Shaughnessy, he is conciliatory but very resolute, prudent but downright and decisive. It is enough to say that for some time he has been generally recognised as the natural successor to the office, and in such a service recognition does not come by favour or by accident.

Canada. October, 1918.

AUSTRALIA

I. LABOUR'S PEACE PROPOSALS

THE month of June has witnessed a significant demonstration of pacifist opinion on the part of the Official Labour Party of Australia. Early in that month the Annual Labour Conference of New South Wales passed a series of resolutions embodying its attitude towards the war, urging the immediate initiation of peace negotiations and outlining its peace proposals. It also drew up plans for "the adequate defence of Australia." These resolutions, with some important additions, were ratified by the Interstate Labour Conference held at Perth, Western Australia, from June 17. Just prior to the sittings of the New South Wales Conference the Sydney Trades and Labour Council passed a motion against the co-operation with other parties in a recruiting campaign agreed upon at a Conference called by the Governor-General, representative of all sections and interests in the Commonwealth. The delegate who tabled the motion to assist in recruiting was defeated at the same meeting in the election to the secretaryship of the Council, though formerly a popular and influential Labour leader. These events, coupled with numerous smaller incidents and public utterances by industrialists, serve to show the strongly pacifist leanings of the Official Labour Party in Australia.

In the preamble to "Labour's peace terms," the outbreak of war is attributed to "commercial rivalry,

